1: Cohen E-4,5 (1956-1965) 1967 MS14 Kanuri MS14

In later generations they often became a separate fief, or in some cases were absorbed into the territorial organization of the original fief. Again, the big lord might also settle some of his slaves in the fief, or he might ask to settle them in someone else's fief, or be asked by some other high ranking person if he would allow slaves to be settled in one of his own fiefs. Slaves delivered the results of their work on the land, and in craftwork directly to their own master whether this was the big lord of the fief or not. If they were in someone else's fief, presents were sent by their master to the senior fief-holder—the big lord—in the capital. It was also possible for the monarch or the big lord to settle holy men, men learned in the Koran, on a fief and such settlements were generally tax free.

There were two main taxes and innumerable smaller ones. Indeed, in the Kanuri language it is possible to denote the meaning of taxation, a tax on something, by simply adding the suffix "ram" to the activity or the object. Of the two main annual taxes, collected after the harvest, one went to the fief-holder and the other to the Shehu. The big lord collected tax on the basis of assessment of local produce by a special tax messenger who went out to the fief and after conferring with local leaders agreed on the tax. All who cooperated in tax collection kept some for themselves, passing surpluses on up the hierarchy to the big lord. In turn the fief-holder always gave gifts to the ruler upon receipt of their own fief-holder tax. Each year the Shehu appointed his own tax messengers from among the nobility and collected a royal tithe from the various fiefs. These men might and might not be fief-holders in their own right, but very often they were not collecting in their own fiefs. Other taxes were annual fees to local headmen, fees for clearing new land, for using new market space, for adjudication, for craftwork, for irrigation (where present), for extending any kind of privilege, etc. The system was essentially the same for the nomad groups, but one related complication should be noted. The people from dispersed localities owed some small taxation privileges to their previous headmen, even though they now lived in new settlements within new fiefs and were required to pay major taxes to their new settlement leaders.

One final point about the pre-colonial political system should be made. To understand such a kingdom it is necessary to keep distinct at all times the concept of a title from that of an office. The Kanuri kingdom had great rosters of noble titles that through time varied in number, numbers of holders per title, and the name of title. Some pre-nineteenth century titles such as the *Fufuma* or lord of the ancient capital city of Birni Ngazargamo dropped out of use. There were a number of men entitled Shettima while there was only one Digma or one Yerima. The titles are honorific, and even personal names which were attached to originally powerful households have become titles during Bornu's long history. Titles embellish a man' political duties, and even provide some opportunities for furthering his ambitions if their past history, or the activities of a title holder, enable him to manipulate the situation successfully for his own advancement. Offices on the other hand are positions in government giving the incumbent rights, duties, and obligations. An office may almost completely coincide with the title, as in the case of the ancient monarch whose title was Mai for probably a thousand years, and Shehu for the last century and a half. Or again offices can vary independently of titles. Thus the title of Digma which was held by a man with many official duties and much power in the mid-nineteenth century had changed by the end of the century, and the man

1: Cohen E-4,5 (1956-1965) 1967 MS14 Kanuri MS14

nounced. Every man contributes a small cash gift of two to five shillings, given as a token of friendship and esteem and collected by a close friend of the father of the new child. The money is used to pay the barber and the *mallams* who say prayers to ensure the safety of the child and his future success.

When the barber has finished his work, the father sends in a friend to tell the women the name he has chosen for the new child. Ideally his friend should return and then announce the name to the men outside, but very often the men are told at the same time. Now the baby is a person; it has a name; its sex is known; it has joined the compound and the community. The senior *mallam* leads everyone in a prayer and the ceremony is over. Kola nuts and perfume are passed around among the men and the new father gives a few pennies to each reader of the Koran and several shillings to the senior *mallam*. It is a memorable day for the parents and there is general rejoicing among those who know about the ceremony and are related in some way to the family. One informant put it this way:

> Everyone is happy because the father and mother have shown that they have practiced the customs of our people, and they have shown that they have been blessed with good fortune because "the little kitten" has become a person.

Especially pleased on such occasions is the namesake of the new baby, if he is alive, for it is a public recognition of the respect and affection shown to this person by the family. Very often the name used is that of the grandparent. The Kanuri very often take turns using grandparent's names on both sides of the family although some insist that boys be named from the father's side and girls from the mother's. However, parents may also name children after an important person or a person to whom the father owes some subordination. The Kanuri, like people in many places, avoid using the names of their own parents or parents-in-law and high status or elderly people in general. Therefore the child is given a nickname that often indicates his or her relationship to the person whose name he bears. For example, many Kanuri boys are named Abba Gana (small father) or simply Abba (father) indicating that they have been named after the father of one of their parents. The link to the grandparent is even closer if the latter has been named after *his* grandparent making him a person who is called Abba Gana as well. Thus the grandson can, in practice, share both his grandfather's "real" name and his nickname as well. Sometimes the mother is referred to in a name, or even the order of one's birth in relation to other children. Thus two of the contemporary sons of the royal family in Bornu are called Abba Kiari Kura and Abba Kiari Shuwa. These men are half brothers named after their royal grandfather—Kiari. Indeed Kiari itself is a circumlocution meaning "old" or "the old one." Kura means "the big one" or "the oldest brother," and Shuwa refers to the tribal membership of Abba Kiari Shuwa's mother. Thus one son, Abba Kiari Kura, is called "father, the old one, the eldest," or "the eldest one named after my father, the old one," and the other brother, Abba Kiari Shuwa, is "father, the old one, the Shuwa," or the "son of the Shuwa wife who is named after my father, the old one." Abba Kiari's real name, Mustafa, never appears in these well-known names of his grandsons who are his recognized namesakes. Sometimes a name reflects the title of the person that the child is named after. Thus Mallam Kumbar refers to the title of the particular person's grandfather, who was Kumbar in the court of the king. Or again, sometimes

Table XIII

List of Individuals Making up the Sample

115 1.	Aristocracy: (6)	Yerima Mustapha-	Ajia of Geidam.
565		Lowan Ashek-	A Lowan of Geidam.
463		Lowan Kagu-	A former Lowan of Geidam.
• 551		Malam Jalo-	An NA appointee in charge of the ferry; had been offered a Lowanship but refused it.
124		Sidi Momon-	Nephew of Yerima; an NA Messenger.
[792]2.	Koranic Malams: (3)	Liman Bashir-	Liman Zomabe of Geidam (leads Friday prayers).
		Liman Habib-	Liman Ngumeribe of Geidam (leads prayers on religious holidays).
		Malam Baba Gonyi-	a Malam attached to Yerima's household.
[441]3.	Canteen Traders: (6)	Alhaji Malam Modu Karabima-	a dealer in hides and skins who buys for a European trading company.
		Malam Momon Gordo-	operator of a canteen dealing in cloth.
		Alhaji Amadu Kolon-	operator of a canteen, and a dealer in groundnuts.
		Alhaji Abacha Modu-	operator of a canteen, and a dealer in groundnuts.
		Alhaji Bukar Dan Alkali-	a dealer in kola nuts and cattle.
		Alhaji Shetima-	operator of a canteen, and a dealer in groundnuts.
[634]4.	NA Malams: (6)	Malam Ali Mandara-	Chief Scribe of Geidam.
		Malam Bulama-	Treasurer of Geidam.
		Malam Kasem-	Veterinary official.
		Malam Maidugu-	Head-master of the primary school in Geidam.
		Malam Ali Malami-	Dispenser.
		Malam Bulama-	Agricultural expert.

Table XIII (continued)

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• 551
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5. Kabuna: (6)	Wakil Guloma-	one of the important kabuna.
	Bukar Gubio-	a minor kabuna.
	Grema Momon-	a young kabuna of intermediary rank.
	Wakil Ali Geje-	Yerima's assistant; head of all the kabuna.
	Bukar Bultuawu-	a minor kabuna.
	Kəngədi-	one of the important kabuna.
6. Craftsmen: (6)	Malam Chiari Katima-	a house builder and repairer.
	Kazela Modu Katima-	a house builder and repairer.
	Mastapha Alima-	a dyer.
	Malam Modu Kəlidama-	a leather-worker.
	Modu Kəlidama (the younger)-	a leather-worker.
	Bukar Wanzama-	a barber.
7. Talaka: (8)	Adamu-	a taborma who sells in the market-place.
	Momadu Fərashəma-	a sewer of horse-blankets sold in the market-place.
	Malam Shani-	a laborer who works for one of the European trading companies.
	Malam Gumbo-	a seller of gowns in the market-place.
	Tijani-	a fətkema who sells in the market-place.
	Ali Goroma-	a retail seller of kola nuts in the market-place.
	Lowan Limami-	a low level retainer of the Ajia's who does not have a horse.
	Baba Mainta-	a dealer in almost anything for a commission.

Table XIII (continued)

115 8. Low-status individuals:
551 (4) Bukar Mandalma- a tanner.
564 Yahuda Gundama- a praise-singer and drummer.
124 Mastapha Mandalma- a tanner.
463 Abdu Gursam- a butcher.

Total: 44 individuals.

603 that is your wife, is it?, or to her - that is your husband, eh?

[152] All the restrictions on any show of emotion with own parents are noticeable by their absence in the affective nature of the grandparent joking relationship with its openly expressible fondness and friendship. That there is some discipline involved is indicated by the fact that the child is very often socialized in a grandparent's

[862] house. One grandparent was observed very patiently taking the left hand of his little namesake out of the food bowl, every time the child attempted to eat with this taboo instrument. One adult informant summed up his own attitudes towards the relationship as follows:

> You may pull your kaka's (grandparent's) beards, or go into his house and take his possessions, and he will not mind - he is happy because his children have borne children. If you have a yeiya (great-grandparent) alive, it is the same with him.

[602] [553] Although the suli (joking) relationship holds for all members of the second and third ascendant and descendant generations it focuses for an individual in its most memorable and frequently emphasized form, between himself and his grandparent-namesake, his

603 553 [551] chuwuna. Many Kanuri names are convertible from male to female forms and thus, cases of a grandchild named after a grandparent of opposite sex are known. The important point is that the chuwuna (namesake) relationship is most often associated with the practise

553 571 of grandparent joking relations and possible adoptions. This observation is validated by looking at other chuwuna relationships in the kinship system or between close friends. If a child is named after a father's brother or his father's friend, he and that person have a mildly permissive joking relationship. They address each

553 Generally speaking, Kanuri names are passed on through alternative generations. Ideally a man and his wife take turns obtaining names from each of their descent groups. Some men insist that boys be given names from the patrilateral group, while allowing girls to be named after the mother's relatives. As we have seen, a parent may name his child after some high status person thus establishing what is hoped will be a fruitful namesake relationship. 551 There is a non-reciprocal name avoidance between ego and his parents, parents-in-law, and high status persons in general. In order to avoid using a name the parents give the child, a nickname which usually indicates his relationship to the person whose name he bears. [553] Thus many young boys are called Aba gana (small father) or just Aba (father) which indicates that they have been called after the father of one of their parents.

Infancy

858 For the first eighteen months (lunar) the child is referred to exclusively as a tiful (infant, baby) regardless of its sex. This period marks the beginning of the individual's incorporation into society. Its criterion is breast feeding. In social rather than individual terms the period is one of introduction. The infant is introduced to its family, to the friends of the family and 858 to its community. Sibling rivalry is recognized and dealt with 867 gently but firmly. The Kanuri believe that a sibling, especially one who shares one or both of his parents with the new arrival, may exhibit antagonism towards the baby. Very often the older sibling is sent off to a nearby compound, usually to a grandparent, for the period of the birth. It returns to receive gifts from the parents

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829 place of the Arabs as the original Muslims and the people of the Koran give them an added historically derived status to the Kanuri, who believe themselves to have originally come from Yemen.

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[171] Similar historical experiences, much contact over a protracted time period, and very similar socio-political patterns and ecological adjustments, as well as the widespread use of Hausa as a lingua franca tend to maintain feelings of affinity by the Kanuri for the other Muslim peoples of Northern Nigeria, especially the Hausa. However, this is true as well for the settled Fulani and Shuwa peoples, while the nomadic elements in these latter groups are somewhat mistrusted as having no definite territorial base, at least while passing through on transhumance. The Kanuri associate territoriality with law and order and thus feel nomads to be dangerous here-today-gone-tomorrow people over whom legitimate social control is often difficult. Thus the first time a large group of nomads camped near Maguneri, friends warned the writer continually to lock up everything at night now that the nomads were in the vicinity.

The Shuwa are an Arabic-speaking nomadic group of the central and eastern Sudan (1) whose women are considered particularly attractive to the Kanuri. Their Arabic language and connection to the east, and the ease with which they acculturate to Kanuri society when they settle, make them a highly rated group in the society. Kanuri individuals with Shuwa mothers are proud of the fact and often incorporate it into their name.
• [551] To take a name signifying a connection to own-mother is quite common in Bornu but not so widely practised when the status of own-mother is low.

The Kanuri rank all pagan groups as having lower status than themselves. An informant who stems from a pagan background, but who has

(1) Personal communication from Mr. Fred Thomas, Ford Foundation Research Fellow, 1954-55.